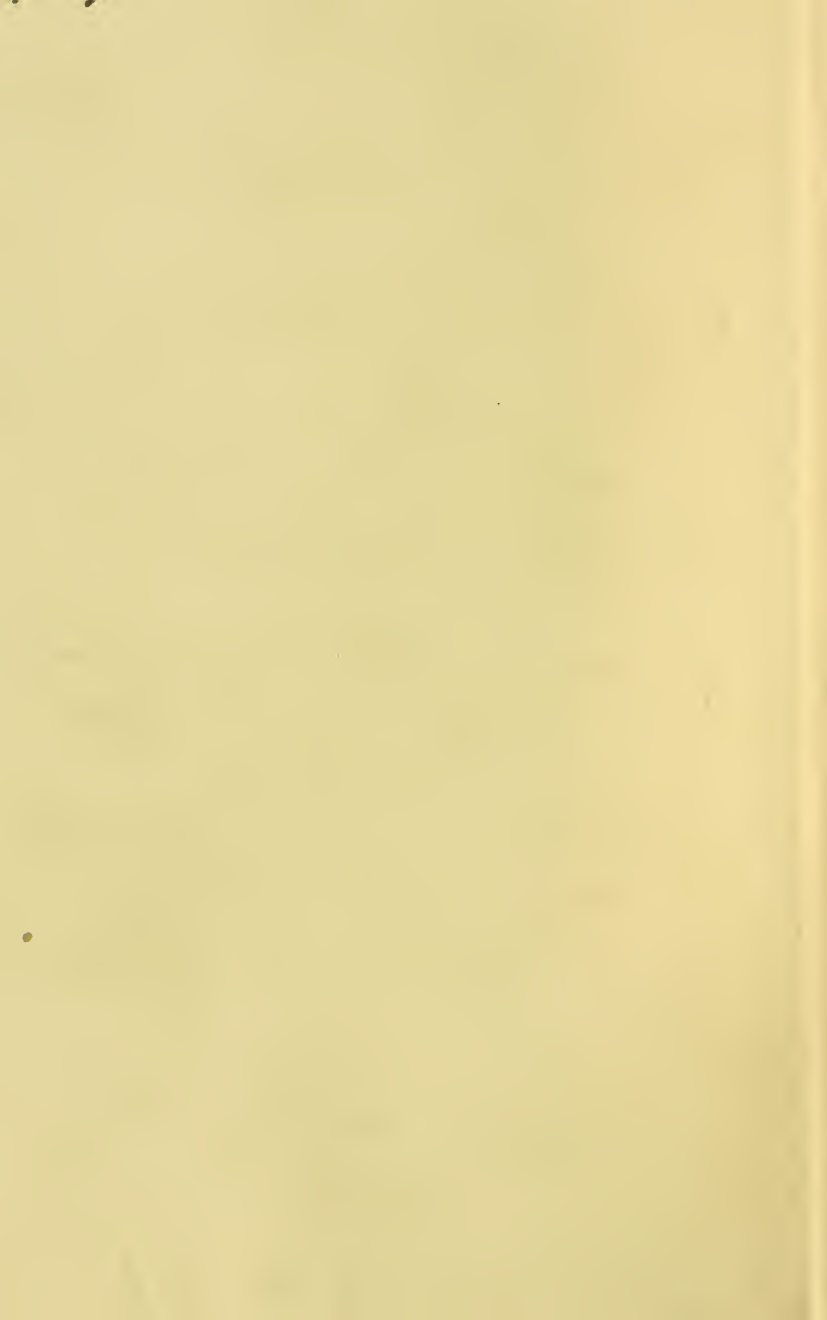


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GOD TIMING ALL NATIONAL
CHANGES IN THE INTERESTS
OF HIS CHRIST.

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A discourse before the AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY, at
its annual meeting in the City of Providence, R. I.,

ON THURSDAY EVENING, MAY 29th, 1862.

BY

WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS.

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“— UNTIL THE VERY TIME OF HIS LAND COME.”

THE Chaldean and the Egyptian monarchies were contending for dominion, each maddened with the vain phantasm of an universal empire. The one on the Euphrates, and the other on the Nile; the Jewish people lay between these fierce rivals, in the very path-way of their mutual raids. It was a position of danger, much as if, in the exposed infancy of their great ancestor, Moses, the bulrush ark where the child floated in his defencelessness had been rocked and splashed by the rushing of two huge monsters of the river, disputing the control of the mud and reeds of its banks; and when the conflict paused, the red jaws of either combatant might craunch in a moment the poor, hapless waif. That Hebrew people had been, in better days, sheltered as in the pavilion of the Divine presence; but now they had deserted the God of their fathers, and were in turn abandoned of Him whom they had forsaken. In the path of the caravan travelling East, and in view of the swift ships of Tarshish gliding West, that people had once been like an eagle's nest on the face of an inaccessible precipice—the eye-mark of all observers, but securely guarded from the hand and clambering foot of each invader. When, however, they came down to court the alliance and to borrow the idols of the nations, the eagle's nest was flung down as upon the crown of the highway, at the mercy of the foot of

each passenger. So deserted of God, and so surrendered to man, the poor relics of the kingdom of Judah, shorn of their ten kindred tribes, had been compelled to submit to the Chaldean. But, at this time, they seem to have been plotting against their Chaldean master, and with their neighbors in the pastures of Moab, and the rock-hewn passes of Edom, and the sea-marts of Tyre, consulting to secure the protection of the great rival power, Egypt. And the messengers of these several people of Palestine are met at Jerusalem. A peasant priest from Anathoth, a suburban village some three miles off from the Jewish capital, startles the ambassadors with a message for their masters, and with the significant present which they are bidden to bear to those masters, of a yoke for each potentate. We may think of the grim smile with which the gift was met. And did this simple priest think that the grazier chieftains of Moab, and the dwellers in Selah, the rock-built city of Edom, and the merchant princes of Tyre and of Sidon, whose galleys skirted every shore, and whose warehouses gathered the treasures of all climes, would submit to wear the collars which he has the presumption thus to tender them? And what name is embroidered on the collar? Must they be tributary to the Chaldean? Would Jeremiah ever venture—audacious as he has thus shown himself—to say as much to “that bitter and hasty nation,” the Chaldeans themselves, and to their king, the proud conqueror Nebuchadnezzar? He will venture it. It is just this that he adds. Predicting the rise in the tide of their power, he foretells as calmly its ebb. Chaldean pride and Chaldean towers shall not secure them. The maker of yokes for the necks of others is soon to be, in turn, the

wearer of a yoke himself. He has but a limited term of immunity, and dominion and conquest. So our text asserts: "UNTIL THE VERY TIME OF HIS LAND COME." The conqueror shall be the conquered, the ruler one day overruled, and the spoiler in his turn despoiled, when comes the revolving wheel of destiny over his country also, at the hour fixed of Jehovah.

God has notched in the calendar of centuries, as He guards and holds that dread register, the eras of national ease, and concord and growth, and the days, also, of weakness, discord, defeat, and bondage. Jeremiah of Anathoth is but announcing, in frankest loyalty, the oracle which the King of Eternity has entrusted to him. It was not the first time that such a decree had been intimated. A similar message had long since been sent, by the same Almighty Ruler, to all earth's potentates. In the Second Psalm, more than four centuries before Jeremiah's time, had David cried: "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way when His wrath is kindled but a little."

And this, too, was only the echo of a yet earlier decree hurled from the loftiest heights of Paradise over a wider sphere than our narrow world even. The Father, when bringing in the First Born Son into the World, had proclaimed: "Let all the Angels of God worship Him." The manifestation and enthronement of the Christ was the errand of Creation, and is the burden of all History. All dynasties, commonwealths and centuries—all continents and all worlds—were to wear the yoke of His just sway, and to accept the collar that

His regal, bleeding hand presents to them. Slain, in the purpose of the Father, before the foundation of the world, and covenanted to be made, in the end of the world, King of all its kinglings, and Lord of all its lords, the story of His pledged and irreversible dominion is the thread on which are strung all the fates of all the nations—all the philosophies of all the schools—and all the doctrines, facts, types, and ordinances of either book, and of every dispensation recounted in this blessed Bible. Jeremiah, His prophet, and we, all of us, His people, are summoned, in the old past, and in the rushing present, and in the dim future, to hail the march of this One Sovereign, Jesus, ordering all times; having, as He asserted after His resurrection, all power in Heaven and in earth committed into His hands; and moving all the varied changes of the land and the century in His own serene, foreseen and foretold dominion.

Times of wide-spread, exhausting, and sanguinary conflict are upon our beloved land. But they come not unsent: and they must not pass unheeded or misread. The Home Mission Society, in which our Churches have been wont to seek the evangelization of our country, has fallen, it might at first seem, on days and scenes where it had little to hope, and where little was left it to do. The land bristling with arms, what ears care to listen to the gospel; whilst all hearts yearn to learn of the last or of the next battle-field? But all this were a false reckoning. The Christ who yoked—though they knew Him not—Assyrian, Egyptian, Chaldean, Greek and Roman—all these old, blind, Pagan powers, for the accomplishment of His own majestic schemes, and who brought about these designs punctually in His own exact and predestined hour, is pre-

siding yet, unworn, unresting, and invincible, never hurried and never tardy, over these very times, that perplex your wisest counsellors, and that task the best powers of your boldest and wariest chieftains. "Is there evil in the city; and the LORD hath not done it? Hear ye the rod and Who hath appointed it."

To His feet, then, let us gather in the prayerful consultation of His own scriptures. Our country is part of Christ's heritage by the bloody right of Gethsemane and Golgotha. He has earned, and must have, as the Shiloh, the gathering of this as of all others of the nations. All people and kindreds shall serve Him. Let us, therefore, see in the very solemnities of the national crisis now passing over us—

I. The times, ordered for our land by our God, and ordered in the interests of His own Christ;

II. The special lessons of those times; and

III. The signal opportunities and hopes of the times, in their bearing on the Home Mission work of the Churches of Christ.

I. The times are arranged by our Kind and Wise Father; and they are ordered evermore for the interests of His own Christ.

Human freedom and human responsibility, in bringing about evil, and in working out good, are not to be shoved aside. Providence is not Fatalism. But, on the other hand, man's free activities do not prove the despotism of a blind Chance, shifting as man's caprices may dictate. Our gospel, said Paul, is not a May-be and a May-be-not gospel—to-day Yea and to-morrow Nay—fluttering and quivering to the vibrations in the tastes of the age, and vacillating with all the changeable shades of man's thick-coming and many-hued fancies.

But it is a gospel of certainties ; sure as the Divine existence, and sacred as the Divine holiness :—a Yea and Amen gospel, not built up of peradventures and conjectures. And the great truths of a foreseeing—all-governing—minute—omnipresent, and unerring Providence, and of its constant reference to the forgotten Past, and to the yet untracked Future, make up an inseparable part of that Yea and Amen gospel. Not only in Christ's day, but in Adam's as well, and in our own times also, every lily that has ever grown has been clad of our Heavenly Father. Each sparrow, that may have built its nest in the eaves of any hut, has been guided and guarded by that same Sovereign Parent ; alike whether that hut were tenanted by one of the fishermen apostles, or by one of the world's old, grey, antediluvian fathers, or on your own shores by one of your contemporary backwoodsmen. And does God take thought for the flower, and bird, and beast ; and leave man to drift untended ? “ Are ye not much better than they ? ” was Christ's significant question. He who put forth that argument, holds yet to the pledge that the argument implies. As He made the world, so will He also guide, and so certainly will He also judge the world : and may well be trusted to understand the polity and philosophy of all that world's history.

Though the Tyrian ambassador to whom, in his amazement, and perchance in his derision, Jeremiah handed the yoke, little dreamed of the fact, yet Jeremiah's God knew that city and its wide commerce far better than did the Tyrian himself. There was not a web of purple in all the looms or the warehouses of that queenly metropolis, of which the Christ knew not

the history, in its growing, in its weaving, in the hues that steeped and dyed it, and in all its wearing, from the time that as a prince's robe it swept the pavements of marble, to the day when as the dishonored, tarnished rag, it fluttered from some beggar's shoulders. Not a keel of their ships of Tarshish scraped any shore, however remote or strange, but this God had counted all the sands of that sea-beach. Not a sail of all their vast commerce flapped to the gale, but this Jehovah had meted to the breeze its precise strength, and fixed the bounds "whence it cometh and whither it goeth." Not an arrow was stored in Chaldean quiver; not a steed backed by Chaldean ranger; but this, the same God who read their Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and who watched their Belshazzar's riotous banquetings, saw the shaping and the shooting of the bolt, and counted all the paces of the war-horse, and knew all the incidents of the campaigns in which steed and shaft were to be brought into requisition. The vastnesses and the pettinesses of earth all drop harmoniously into the wide scheme of an unsleeping Providence. The wrath of man and the rage of Hell are overruled where they may be permitted; and are curbed, where they could not be permitted, by Him, who is yet, all the while, too Holy to sympathise with one sin, and all the while too Mighty to need one helper. For his own interest and education, man is enlisted, though he is not needed; and remains, when most reckless, self-reliant, or defiant even, dependent upon and accountable to God. There are influences which man can wield and should control aright. There are others which God originates or shapes. Some of these are as far beyond man's control as is the amount of the week's sunshine; as is the

shape or speed of yonder passing cloud ; as is the measure of the rain, dew and frost for the year. In the affecting language, that shuts up one of the books of the Old Testament,* the times “GO OVER” us, as really as they went over David and over Israel, and “over all the kingdoms of the countries” in David’s century. “THE TIMES GO OVER US.” They are, while partly of the earth, yet also, and in very much of their bearing, above the earth. They affect the race ; but the race cannot manage them more than can that race brew the whirlwind, order the seasons, or yoke and unyoke the sweet influences of the Pleiades.

There are, again, influences which are under human management, but which become mighty for good or for ill only by their timing ; and this timing of them is often a visible interposition of God’s overruling care. On the sea and on the land, where some great battle impends, the delay or the arrival of a reserve may decide the fate of an empire, and give its fixed indelible hue to the history of a century ; but that delay or arrival may be all made up of what man calls fortuitous occurrences, or unforeseen coincidences. Grouchy does not come up and Blucher does come up : and Waterloo is what it is ; and flings Europe into its own mould. The powers that, mighty as each is, would yet apart, miss their end, are, in the nick of time—in an adjustment exact and momentous as the fitting of the nick of the archer’s arrow to the string of the archer’s bow—mated together, and so mated, become irresistible. The hours that yoked the arrival of the tiny Monitor with the heyday of the career of the Merrimac were,

* I. Chronicles, xxix, 30.

probably the pivot of influences that in their far sweep may traverse centuries. In starting, speeding, retarding and matching such coincident or colliding influences, how often has the drapery of invisibility seemed to drop away from the arm of Omnipotence. God's arm is lifted up and "made bare." The likeness as of a man's hand, that wrote the doom of Belshazzar, gleams out again to the eye of Faith, arbitrating in the destinies of the dwellers on God's earth.

And God's power is illustrated in arraying, massing, and brandishing whole hosts of earthly workers, ignorant or heedless of the ends to which He guides them. Jehovah's title, the "Lord of Hosts," describes Him not merely as ordering His heavenly legions, and arranging stars and systems: but it includes, also, His control of all the mailed warriors of mankind; of that palmer worm and caterpillar also which he calls "His great army;" of the flies that plagued Egypt, and the quails that fed Israel; of the huge caravans of the wild pigeon that often break down the boughs of your Western forests; and of the ruinous maraudings of the tiny wheat midge; as of the foul vultures that He is to summon to the field of carnage of Armageddon. The God of Revelation claims an universal and pervasive sovereignty, from the heights to the depths—binding into one service, conscious or unconscious, defiant or devout, as may be, the most discordant, and seemingly, the most reckless, ungovernable and disproportionate elements.

Treasons, seditions, battles, and revolutions, far as they are made up of evil, are of man. But in the evil development is to be recognized, nevertheless, the

controlling purpose and overruling goodness of God. Judas was the son of perdition, and Satan had entered into him. But yet his intended deicide sped on the world's redemption. The fall of Jerusalem seemed like a geyser of Hell, springing up to meet an overturned vial of the hottest wrath of Heaven. But into the heart of that glowing ruin, as into molten wax, was stamped down a new seal of attestation to Christ's Messiahship : and out of that furnace-mouth of Vengeance went as from new Pentecostal fires, a fresh evangelization of the Gentiles. The wars that tracked the Protestant Reformation on the soil of Germany, Holland, France, England and Scotland, and the later struggles of the English Commonwealth, spread around much of woe and of wrong even ; but who could well spare from European and American history the seeds of truth and life then sown ? The good far outweighed the precedent and attendant ills. Could Literature—could Freedom—could Religion forego the heroes, sages, confessors and martyrs, that emerged in those trials ; grew wiser and holier in the furnace ; and bequeathed to us their inspiriting testimony, and their enduring trophies ? For that Freedom has looked out benignly upon us, through the gratings of their dungeons ; and that Religion, with the smile of Heaven's own peace on her lips, has blessed us out of the thick smoke of their martyr-pyres.

We are, throughout our land, once so fertile and peaceful, and teeming with richest promise, feeling the terrible ills of warfare. But are we because of its drafts of men, and its heavy burdens of consumption and taxation, because of the harvest fields that it tramples down, and the hospital beds that it litters

with heroic agonies, and the households that it darkens and shivers, and the graves that it fills—to say, that it has abrogated Faith, or Prayer, or Sabbaths? Has it repealed the gospel, or banned the further descent of the regenerating and sanctifying Spirit of God? None of all these. God is in the struggle. We, in our temerity, clay as we are, are but too prone to forget this, and to question and to instruct the Divine Worker who is tempering and moulding the ductile mass. He, as his word expressively designates Him, is “The Potter.” But, as said an old Puritan worthy, in regard to man’s rashness and despondency when misreading the mysteries of the Divine judgments, “what is it but to exalt clay to the pottership?”* When man undertakes to mend God’s sovereign behests, he would, by his success, mar, far as in him lies, the whole universe; and the critic spoils himself into a misshapen vessel of dishonor. God is in the struggle. And for His church shall good emerge from all these dark and stormy scenes.

II. For amidst the very depth of the gloom, we may well recognize in broader and more legible characters, the LESSONS of such times. Is there not a voice bidding alike those who contrived and those who resist this rebellion to consider?

There is a lesson of remembrance. We have, as a people, enjoyed much. The past is secure. Let us recal its high privileges with thanks to the God whose goodness bestowed that glorious past. Come what may, the page that records our Washington, and Hamil-

* Tho. Crane “Prospect of Divine Providence,” *Lond.* 1672.

ton, our Adams and our Henry, our Jefferson and Franklin, our John Jay and John Marshall, our Oliver Ellsworth and Henry Laurens, our Nathaniel Macon, and our Madisons, and Jacksons, and Websters, and Clays, cannot be torn from the world's annals. Freedom, Education, growing Territory, Commerce, Invention, Art and Wealth ; how largely were they bestowed upon us. It was from the signal mercies of our God : and far as we claimed, in self reliance, the honor, we have sinned ; and our troubles are, in part, the memorial and penalty of this our vainglory and ingratitude.

There is a lesson as to the relative worth of wealth. Other nations have imputed to us, as a people, an absorbing pursuit of gain. Riches were widely spread, by many rapidly won, and as lavishly dispensed. But gain is not a nation's truest measure of prosperity ; and ill fares the land where it is made the chief object of pursuit. Our terrible conflict has at least this signal blessing—that it has shown to multitudes the worth of higher objects than gain. Myriads have flung ease and riches and household comforts to the winds, in their zeal for freedom, national unity and national life. They have perilled their own lives. Their blood has run like water. Lucre has no more, blessed be God, that accredited and paramount place of authority which we had ourselves feared that it occupied, and which others had augured of us. Mammon, the bent and grovelling god of the muck-rake, has lost immensely. And the very burdens of taxation manfully confronted by patriotism, may become blessings and medals of honor, enhancing our estimate of the freedom so secured, and attesting, at least, the temporary dethronement of the " Filthy Lucre " that once tyrannized so ruthlessly.

And is there no lesson, again, for the hearts of the whole people, as to the foundation-truths of our national system? Christ, by ordinances, schools His Church, in recurring and regular admonitions, to the remembrance of the fundamental, elemental facts of His own history; and which, at the same time, are the first and deepest truths of her life. So Christ's Providence may school nations into the reviewal of their own political foundations. When the storm rocks the walls, and the rain falls in sheets on the roof, the man who never before cared as to underpinning and subsoil masonry, begins to inquire into both, as the freshet goes roaring past his door. Multitudes, who never else would have pondered the question, are beginning to consider the nature and constituent principles, and first conditions of Liberty. The saying of a revolutionary patriot—a Christian jurist and statesman—"I think that, as in the earthly Court of Chancery, so in the Court of Heaven it will be found, that if we ask equity we must do equity," has begun, not in words, perchance, but in the substance of the thought, and the unspoken feeling, to pervade myriads of minds. The foundations of government and justice are becoming, by the very stress of the necessities of the era, the themes of meditation. The torrents of the time are laying those foundations bare to the eye.

But beyond all these, the lesson of events is our absolute dependence on God. We have much and grateful confidence in the leaders and counsellors, and captains whom God has given us. But even the more heedless must see that a Higher than any earthly Power rules. A Providence which waits not for man, which may dispense with man, may thwart the mightiest, and

may surprise the wisest of men ; this is the Potentate that is supreme in the events which go hurtling over us, and which carry in their train the destinies of our children. We need, in the prayers of the home and of the national senate, of camps and of fleets, as of closets and sanctuaries, yet more and more to acknowledge and vitalize this sense of dependence.

We need repentance for our sins. It was the Baptist's trumpet cry when he heralded the approaching Saviour. It had been every prophet's burden—it is each evangelist's theme. Another Hebrew prophet beside Jeremiah—it was Daniel—preached it to Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean conqueror ; as still another, Jonah, had done it to the Assyrian King at Nineveh. Whatever forms sin assume against any line of the Decalogue, the God of the nations, the Judge of all the earth, remains yet the Jealous Avenger of that law of Sinai. A reckless, godless people, fling away both helmet and shield, by their impiety, profligacy, and injustice. And the struggles, privations and slaughters that make life to many so bitter, and bring death so suddenly, may yet prove—if they but divorce from the old idol and drive the penitent to a forsaken, forgotten Father—a thrice-blessed discipline, restoring the prodigal to his home and his parent not only, but recovering him to himself. A nation, bowed in heart before God, in true contrition, and in honest reformation taking hold on God's rule and word, is a nation taking hold on the very strength of Jehovah, and making peace with Him ; and with His alliance won, is assured of all help against all odds. Some talk of "organizing victory," but the Almighty alone can do that. And He has organized it for the kingdom of His Christ ;

and the people who braid their hopes and lives into the law and grace and life of that predestined Heir and Conqueror, are assured of sharing in a triumph organized indestructibly and enjoyed forevermore.

III. Now, far as these lessons of the times are heeded—far as the national heart and conscience take in the grateful remembrance of earlier mercies—rate Wealth less extravagantly—ponder the foundation truths of their own national life—accept the fact of their utter dependance on God—and by repentance for past sins, deprecate the wrath with which they cannot cope, and implore the help that no foeman can withstand—the character of the nation, so permeated and renovated is, itself, a rich earnest of all benediction.

The times in which God's presence becomes especially traceable and sensible are, in the language of Holy Writ, variously styled times of visitation and search—again, times of refreshing—again, times of reformation—and again, times of vengeance. The same crisis, in a nation's life, may develop more than one, or even unite all of these traits. Jehovah may search into sin, and make domiciliary inquisition for blood; He may take vengeance on the froward and obdurate; while, under the same cloud, He drops refreshing on the devout and vigilant; and in the contrite, works reformation and restoration. Like the training of the tribes in the wilderness—where Dathan and Abiram besomed the pathway for Joshua—the discipline that begins in storms may burst the way for a recovery, general as it is genial, widespread as the spring, gentle as the dew, and welcome as the morning light.

The object of Christians in their Home Missions, is

to bring truth into the dwellings and hearts of the whole people of the land. They would see all souls by Christ's truth and Spirit educated, renewed, and sanctified. Of such an education patriotism would be, by a moral necessity, one of the vigorous offshoots. Liberty would be the inevitable and imperishable outgrowth of that Righteousness and Love—learned best, or rather learned only, at Christ's feet. A land so evangelized—your own hereditary home land so evangelized—this is the great purpose of your organization. Does the crisis at all help you towards the end so eyed?

The times manifestly help you by giving what Paul besought in his prayers—the opening of the door of access. Your prayers take a wider scope, and with more than their wonted fervor pursue brothers, husbands and sons, through weary marchings, to distant encampments and perilous fields, or along the stormy shore, and up the fort-girt bay. Your efforts for religious usefulness take on new forms and find out new avenues. The Tract, the Bible, and the Christian visitor, the letter of Christian friendship, and the talk of the Christian chaplain reach now, in our camps and fleets, many thousands who in seasons of preceding peace missed such influences, or would persistently have shunned and finally have evaded them. Here a new field for a new phase of Christian Missions is opened. If some are hardened into sots, gamblers, or profligates, yet multitudes are sobered by the stern realities of impending, imminent death. Eternity comes nearer. And as the stalwart Ironsides of Cromwell prayed and preached as well as fought, God may make our valiant and generous soldiery, many of them,

more thoroughly than most armies as yet have been, evangelized and evangelizing laborers, for Christ.

We needed as a people more of interpenetration—a more entire assimilation and unity. God has often used the terrible enginery of war apparently for this express end. The various races that are compounded into national unity in the British Isles were triturerated together, from the days of the Heptarchy down, by the conflicts and agonies of centuries; as the painter rubs together the colors on his palette, as the apothecary in the mortar bruises together his simples, as the Jewish priest of old prepared the choice and sacred incense, that was to smoke only in the Holy Place, before the Ark of the Covenant and the Shekinah of the Divine glory. How terrible was the process of the Greek wars of Alexander in their wide devastation—how deadly and far the flight of the Roman eagle wherever a tempting quarry caught the eye and invited the keen beak and dire talons of the imperial bird. Yet it is easy now to see—what they knew not—how Alexander and Cæsar were, like Cyrus, preparing that God's temple should be built. The Greek conquests furnished the compacting influence that provided readers through the civilized world for the Greek gospels and epistles of the New Testament, and for the Greek Septuagint version once so widely diffused of the Old Testament. The Persian dreamed nought of it as he rushed westward on Marathon and Salamis. The Macedonian phalanx dreamed not of it as it rushed eastward to Arbela. They knew not their own mission. But He who gives to the crane and the stork their appointed seasons of travel in the sky, wings also on an unconscious errand the rapacious vultures of conquest and

desolation. So the Roman invasions and annexations laid open the provinces of their world for the Home and Foreign Missions of the early Christian Churches. And thus had Chaldean and Greek and Latin warriors all been, in fact unconsciously, what Israel in the Egyptian captivity was consciously, busied in treading mortar in the alien brickfield. The Master who summoned them described one such, His unconscious servitor, as "coming upon princes as upon mortar and as the potter treadeth clay."* The nations trampled down beneath their soldier heels became the material, compacted under the unity of Greek literature and civilization, and the unity of Roman law and polity, for readier incorporation into the rising walls of that edifice, the Christian Church, which a Mightier and Holier Captain was eyeing through all the turmoil and carnage of these Pagan battle fields. Come in what form, and come at what date, and come at what terrible cost it may, it seems almost inevitable that the ultimate result of our fearful national conflicts will be the production of a more thorough and manifest national unity. The stern assertion of the national life, needed to its preservation, involves for the nation its being inevitably compacted into a more homogeneous mass. Not in the way of brute subjugation—in any just application of that term—but in the exercise of that resolved and principled firmness, which can be stern as Duty and yet, withal, kindly as Grace, the nation must be defended and avenged into the full integrity of its rights. That agency compresses and condenses into closer oneness.

* Isaiah XLI, 25.

Our struggle has already afforded wondrous and reinforcing evidence of momentous truths that were ignored or openly denied. Because our government was self-chosen, some drew the facile inference, but as unjust as it was facile, that the choice of a neighborhood, a metropolis, a clique, or a State might without further ceremony abrogate it. Government is on one side, in our American theory of it, a human compact. But, on its other side, that human arrangement has been backed by a Divine sanction. Marriage is the free choice of affection : but human consent cannot at will rend what human consent first knit. An authority more than earthly interposes the shield of its sanction against the rude clipping and the bright glitter of the mortal shears, that would put asunder what God, as well as man, brought together. The powers that be are ordained of God. Juster and more reverent feelings of the high rights of the State are already saturating the national mind. The Republic is becoming more solid, not as a reckless, ruthless Absolutism, but as an august, self-ruling, self-asserting Sovereignty. Do we forget and impugn our own Revolution, as against Britain ? No. That was really, in its essential principles conservative—an assertion of old national, hereditary, and Anglo-Saxon liberties, which a transatlantic Crown and Parliament were plundering. Do we impeach the fathers when they cried, “ Resistance to tyrants is duty to God ? ” Our conflict reasserts that cry, for the causeless anarchist is, in fact, but a tyrant of baser metal ; and prompt, firm resistance of his acts is a bulwark against the Despotism that Anarchy always brings in on its shoulders. Such truths come home to the national soul in its agonies of

trial. The furnace fires of the time fuse and vitrify our homebred and our immigrant soldiery into a more resolute, intelligent and harmonious nationality. The men of the Rhine and of the Shannon are on the shores of the Potomac and the Cumberland, and the Mississippi, learning aright what their duty is to a common country, which has been God's gift to them and their children, to be defended in His strength and in His fear. And they learn, in the common lessons, also the better to appreciate, emulate, resemble and complete each other.

The sanctity of an oath is another great truth now receiving significant illustrations. The Old World has had potentates, who, pledged by solemn and repeated oaths to freer institutions, have trampled peremptorily on the bond given to Liberty, when the toys of Despotism tempted them: and they have snatched at absolute power through sheer perjury. At the bar of man they found, and it may be that they feared, no punishment. "There be Higher than they"—"The Higher than the highest regardeth."* In our own land this recklessness has been shown respecting the oath of allegiance to the nation. Men—who sneered at the North, as teaching a higher law to God which should be paramount to all terrene statutes—have been themselves among the first to hold the supreme law of the land, and their own oaths of fealty and loyalty to that land, abrogated by the lower law of State claims and State interests. It could not be sin, in the man of the North, if God and his country ever clashed, to say that well as he loved his country he loved his God yet

* Eccles. v, 8.

more. But what plea shall shield the sin, which claims to love one's own petty State, better than either country or God? They have virtually tunnelled and honey-combed into ruin the fundamental obligations of the citizen. Jesuitism had made itself a name of reproach by the doctrine of mental reservation, under which the Jesuit held himself absolved from oaths of true witness-bearing, which he at any time had taken to the nation and God; if the truth to be told harmed the interests of his own order, whose interests he must shield by a silent mental reservation. The lesser caste, the ecclesiastical clique, thus was held paramount to the entire nation; and oaths of fidelity to the religious order, a mere handful of God's creatures, rode over the rights of the God whose name had been invoked to witness truth telling, and over the rights of God's whole race of mankind, to have the truth told in their courts, by those who had solemnly proclaimed and deliberately sworn that they would tell and were telling it. The State loyalty as being a mental reservation, evermore to abrogate the oath of National loyalty:—what is it but a modern reproduction of the old Jesuit portent? But perjury, however palliated, and whether in Old World despots or in New World anarchists, involves, in the dread language of Scripture, the being “clothed with cursing as with a garment.”* That terrible phrase of inspiration describes, we suppose, not merely profuse profanity, but the earthly deception which attracts the heavenly malediction; the reply of a mocked God to a defiant transgressor; vengeance invoked, and the invocation answered. “SO HELP ME GOD!” is a phrase

* Psalm cix. 18.

so often heard in jury-boxes and custom-houses, beside the ballot-box, and in the assumption of each civil office, that we do not at all times gauge its dread depth of meaning. It is not a mere prayer of help to tell the truth: but, like the kindred Hebrew words, "So do God to me and more also!" it is an invocation of His vengeance, and an abjuration of all His further favor if we palter with the truth. It means: "If I speak not truly, and mean not sincerely, so do I forswear and renounce, henceforth, all help from God. I hope not His help in the cares of life—I hope not His help for the pardon of sin—I ask not His grace—not hope from His smile in death—not help at His hand into His eternal, holy Heavens. All the aid man needs to ask—all the aid which God has to the asking heretofore lent, I distinctly surrender, if He, the Truth-seeing sees me now Truth-wresting." Now the risk of trifling with such a thunderbolt is not small. The many noble, excellent and Christian men who may have been heedlessly involved in this rebellion, in spite of past oaths to the nation, it is not our task to judge. But the act itself, of disregarding such sworn loyalty to their whole country,—the act in its general principles, apart from all personal partakers in it,—we may and we must ponder. Now, in this respect, if these views of our national oaths be just, our present Rebellion has been not merely treasonable, but its cradle-wrappings, its very swaddling-bands have been manifold layers of perjury—its infancy has been clad with cursing as with a garment. The oath will come out of this era a more august solemnity, and better understood, than it went in.

Our age has, again, seen Rationalism hewing, with a

ruthless heartiness, at the old truth of the inspiration of the Scriptures. In this attack on the character of the Bible, it has been contended that all inspired Prophecy was but devout and patriotic enthusiasm of seer and apostle, agitated by the passions of the time, speculating poetically upon contemporary history, and flinging over the Future the gorgeous hues of the hopes or the fears of the Present. If Prophecy, nine or nineteen centuries before Christ were this, and only this ; then, certainly, there may be, nineteen centuries after Christ, as wise, as good, and as sure prophecy. If Jacob, Moses, Isaiah and Daniel, and Paul did only this, and no more ; we news-writers, and news-readers of this time can, with our quick intelligence and ready interchange of thought, do as well. Let us then ask, how the sages, and journalists, and parliamentary orators, and cabinet ministers of our own and European shores have succeeded in their prophesying, as to the course, duration, and results of this present struggle ? The moderns had greatly the advantage of nearness to the times of which they uttered predictions. They told of what must be ere the coming summer, or of what even the next fortnight must bring. The hardier seers of God's anointing flung the bold pontoons of their unhesitating prophecies over the wide chasms of centuries. Surely, we moderns, with the easier task, must make the better work. Compile the oracles, American, British and Gallican : and ask, if such seers—no better—no wiser—no nearer Heaven's heart—were the men who foretold of Israel's captivities, and of Messiah's sorrows and conquests, and of the destinies of the Church of the Living God ? The journals and protocols of the day explode that dream of Ration-

alism. Scripture prophecy is of other texture. And we exultingly repeat what the littered wrecks of the political prophesying, rife around us, have so reinforced : "The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man : but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."*

But we weary you. Easy were it, in like manner, to refer to the fresh lights cast on others of the old and discredited truths by the conflagration socially blazing around us. It might be seen how the merely humanitarian views of government, that made all indignation against sin, itself sinful ; and held all vengeance to be sheer malignity ; and regarded the reform of the offender as the last or sole end of all punishment, have been practically flung down by the rush of events : and the old truths of God's right as the Avenger to hate sin, and eternally to visit it with His condign displeasure, come out from the clouds of our conflict with new lustre.

But with these renewed sanctions given to Truths that were in danger of being forgotten, shall we retain that grand modern truth and fact—the truth of our own liberty as a nation ? Shall we emerge from a war, wide, and as fierce as it is wide, summary in its movements and temper, all ablaze with military trophies and military ambitions,—shall we emerge still a Free People ? Perchance—we answer—with God sought by us, and God blessing us, a people more free even than before. God is, we believe, setting before the nation in the necessities of the crisis, and the lessons of the hour, the open door to a solution more

* 2 Peter i. 21.

speedy than we had hoped, less sanguinary than we had feared, of the great problem of our statesmanship. Bondage—African bondage, has been the enigma and scandal alike of our home and foreign polity—of our diplomacy and of our ethics. Our fathers regarded it as a thing to be regretted: but supposed it exceptional, and trusted that it would prove ephemeral. By studied circumlocution they avoided the explicit recognition of it in our Constitution: yet it had there, by implication, its designed constitutional safeguards; shelved and curtained there, for, as it was hoped, a slow and quiet, but a sure, decay. It was felt to be a scrofulous taint of the body politic, which it was hoped, however, that the nation would, with the advance of years, noiselessly and painlessly outgrow. So in a document, which to all religious men was of higher authority than any jurisprudence of earth,—in God's Scriptures,—the relations of slavery were matter of doubt and debate to many honest and disinterested readers. They took the Bible as the truth in its fullest statement: and they held Christ and Christianity as He exemplified it—and as His apostles and Himself taught it—as being the crown and sum of all moral excellence. They found slavery recognized as existing in the patriarchal and in the Mosaic economies. In the Apostolic Church they saw slaveholder and slave, side by side, in the Christian Church. But they saw, in the same book, Paul declaring to Timothy, that “*MEN-STEALERS*” were among the most hardened of sinners, to be classed with murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers. The Bible defies Logic, in our narrow, and Western sense of that word. Of a perfect Logic, where the relations of all truths are seen fully and

stated harmoniously, a finite race is probably incapable. The Bible itself does not teach all existing truths ; or disclose all the relations of the truths that it does teach. It is for its purposes and man's needs, perfect : but it is a fragmentary statement, and many of the relations of the truths that it reveals are left unrevealed, running off into the eternities, and rooting themselves in the infinite depths and recesses of the Divine Mind. Occidental students sometimes forget this character of Revelation. We, Western thinkers, accept our definitions, often too narrow, and our premises, often but very imperfectly seen, as if the definition were full, and the premises completely and clearly grasped ; and then from such definitions and premises, radically defective, but by assumption complete, we reason ruthlessly to the last results which they seem to involve. But the Bible, a more practical book, ignores such mechanical logic, and leaves our arguments bootless. A Western mind would argue : If man-stealing, the ordinary commencement of slavery be thus sin, all the results of that first crime are smitten with the same utter sinfulness ; and neither Commonwealth nor Church may, for one moment, tolerate their continuance. But another reasoner of the same school, starting from the opposite end, and finding master and slave sitting in the same primitive Christian Church, and partaking of the same ordinances of brotherhood in Christ Jesus, with the relation, servile on the one hand, and dominant on the other, recognized as still enduring, would reach the conclusion, that the first creation of the bond, whether by stealing, by war, by trade, or by inheritance, could not be faulty. But, in fact, the Word of God is full of such practical har-

monies of what our self-confident zeal would pronounce theoretical contrarities. Thus, for instance, the Bible makes perfection the standard of all duty, and yet declares that no man is perfect, and that righteousness, by the deeds of the law, is now impossible. It represents sin as occurring while God as a sovereign permitted it; and yet that it is without God's complicity. It shows human malignity, and Divine decrees, harmoniously interlocked in that Divine Atonement which was at once Earth's crowning sin and Heaven's peerless boon:—the grace, all stainless goodness; the sin, all shameless, inexcusable and accursed wickedness. So does a Book,—issuing from a Divine Mind, a Mind which takes into its survey of all events the issues and remotest relations that stretch beyond the ken of any finite intellect,—so does such Book of such authorship puzzle while it yet overtops the mere unaided mind of man. For man's mind with its puny logic, accepts its partial views, and its defective definitions as the full premises, and then educes conclusions to sweep the whole field. The gospel did not recognize Absolutism in the state, or Slavery in the community as the best, the original, or the permanent condition of Human Government. But discouraging the immediate and violent overthrow of either; fixing the convert's mind on Eternity, and Heaven, and Hell, and Sin and Duty and Grace, as the main elements of man's interest and thought; it tolerated for the time what it was leisurely and peacefully, but ultimately and universally, to subvert. It branded by Paul's letter to Timothy man-stealing as dire sin. That word, by the bye, no less a scholar than Bishop Horsley, in his place in the

British House of Lords, declared to mean more properly "slave-trader."^{*} How terrible the power of that single word we may infer from the fact as ascertained by Scott, the Commentator, that in an Arabic Testament which the British Christians had been circulating on the slave-trading shores of Western Africa, the word had been quietly withdrawn, lest it should shock the Mahommedan readers. But that same gospel, while it thus denounced the origin of the relation and the agent in the transfer of the slaves from hand to hand, bade the converted slave not to despise his believing master. But it also taught, that if he might be made free, he, the bondman, was to "USE IT RATHER." Compared, indeed, with the freedom from Sin and Hell wherewith Christ enfranchises, all earthly rights were poor and perishable; but they were not all equally worthless. Personal liberty was, where accessible, to be prized and secured. And defended, also, it was to be—for Paul nobly and resolutely vindicated, from Philippian outrage, the rights of his own Roman freedmanship and citizenship.

Our Christian patriots found themselves, in deference to the Constitution and its implied pledges, held back, in our preceding history, from any national interposition to change the local laws of States respecting slavery. But yet they felt, keenly and constantly, the tendency of the political champions of slavery to encroach upon the foundation stones of Northern freedom. Slavery was itself an anomaly, and known to be regarded as a solecism by the patriots who, as advocates for the rights of man, drafted the claim of our

* See note A.

own Independence. Our Constitution forbids attainder for the citizen, however guilty, understanding, by it, the blood of a guilty parent working the summary forfeiture of estate and honor for his innocent children. Slavery seemed the harshest of attainders, making the haplessness of an innocent parent—not guilty but only wretched—to attain down the long tract of generations the blood of his innocent progeny. Our institutions forbid hereditary rank ; it seemed a hard inequality that they should tolerate and be even wrested to foster a despised Pariah caste, a hereditary rank of menials who might never aspire, and of vassals who were never to wrestle into freedom. Our institutions cherished equality, and honored mere simple manhood ; it seemed cruelly inequitable that to growing myriads this manhood should mean only chatteldom. Our State institutions, generally, discourage feudal entails binding property to one lineage and family ; it seemed all the more contradictory that they, who would not have the master entail his acres, would yet permit him, through long generations to entail upon his fellow-men, the tillers of those acres, the lot of the collar, the branding-iron, the slave-pen, the driver's whip, and the slave-coffle.

The Constitution, as gently and as consistently as was in any way possible, spread its Japheth mantle, in regretful silence, over the Noah infirmities of our national condition. But meanwhile the South, by a new school of jurists and statesmen, would interpret this silence into a full surrender, on the part of the North : and would hold up the unseemly sleep of Noah as the law of perfection, and as the one condition, for all superior races, in all times, of the highest freedom. Long

controlling the government, choosing the nation's Presidents, crowding its judiciary benches, shaping the national policy, purchasing new territory, and dictating wars in its own sectional interest, the South seemed bent on making the ephemeral into the permanent, and converting the exceptional into the normal, and beating out the local institution, until it should plate over the national domain in its every acre. It was thus become, on their part, an attempt to inoculate with their own scofulous taint the entire national constitution. They would proclaim bondage for the African the grand prophylactic of the Caucasian nations for Freedom, for Virtue, and for Order. Against an election in which they had shared, and which had been held under all the forms and principles of a Constitution to which they had sworn, they rebelled. But they rebelled, having first provided for it, by disarming the North and by arming their own South, with treachery that seating itself in our national Cabinet, emulated there, and there surpassed the guilt of the shameless Cabal who disgraced the latter days of the last and worst of the British Stuarts.

Their new Confederacy was to be based on slavery as its corner stone, as the ablest and frankest of their statesmen presented their case to our land and to all nations. Their act has, happily, swung the whole question out of its old moorings. Before our country and our churches—before the other nations of the earth, and before the Judge of all the earth, the question now assumes a new shape. They remodel and recast the Constitution ; and they recast the gospel. And they virtually challenge us to an acquiescence in their new gods ; or demand the quiet surrender of our national

unity, and their own peaceful dismissal with insult unpunished and plunder uncompensated. The men, whose hold on the conservatism of Northern States and Northern Churches lay in their own fidelity to the Constitution, its oaths and its balances, have toppled over the balance, and spurned the oath, and assayed to remodel the Constitution. In assuming the aggressive and the anarchical, they have thrown off, in mass, the alliance of the conservative classes, whose moderation they had misconstrued as spiritless, mercenary, and pliable. Themselves, the propagandists of anarchy, they must retrace their steps, or revolutionize and subjugate the North, the entire and united North. Can they ?

Or can they enforce the division, which is their later demand ? Our mountain ranges and our streams, our ocean coast and its ports, tapping by river and canal, and railway—that iron river—the entire bulk of the country, our history, our interests, and, as we believe, our destiny, make us one nation, North and South. As by anticipation, God's own hand had defied the new political surgery which would rashly seek to sever the national back-bone of the Alleghanies, and that would assay to tie up, for the separate uses of two distinct nationalities, a Northern half and a Southern half—our great arteries of the Mississippi and the Missouri. His edict wrote confusion on the dreams of such statesmanship. Our Southern friends saw this at the outset, if they refuse to see it now. They had, at first, hoped to have made the West their own as well as the South ; and to have subjugated by interest or force the Northeast into subserviency. The question now before the Christians of the North is, the Acceptance or the Rejection of slavery, as a constituent element of their own Northern

communities. Shall bondage become, or not, tolerated and permanent among themselves at the base of their own mountains, and in their own Atlantic seaports? As the entering wedge of the Ship Money decision, in Hampden's days, would, undisputed, have torn from Parliament the national purse, and so have made the Crown independent of the people for revenues: even thus does the entering wedge of the Dred Scott decision lead, if accepted, to the tearing from the North of all her old anti-slavery safeguards, and it would give the slave-pen the hedge of law, over every acre once fenced by Northern toil and blood, as a home for freedom ever, and for freedom only. To such new adjustment of the question, the answer should be prompt and clear. And the old precept of the gospel, giving the preference to freedom, where the choice is ours to make, and bidding us to "USE IT RATHER,"* becomes now the law of the situation and the God-given summons of the hour.

Rather than, by new compromises, and by unworthy submission to such judge-made law, when it is usurping on the old safeguards of freedom—rather than legitimize, under any pretext, and for any bribe, slavery over our whole territory to the Canadian line, beside our lakes, and over the passes of the Rocky Mountains to the Golden Gate—let the South, if it must, and if it can, with the red right hand overrun our coasts, and lay village and sea-port in ashes. We would resist to the uttermost, and if overpowered and sacrificed, bequeath to our children the charge to flee, like the old Christians of Spain, to the mountains, and wage a war of centuries in the hope of returning at last to claim, not

* See note B.

only our North thus devastated in the propagandism of bondage, but by just reprisals to occupy the entire borders of the propagandists also, from the Gulf to the Canadas, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as a home for unconditional and uncompromised Freedom. But peace, on the new terms of the South, and with fresh compromises for her serfdom, never—never. To accept the unhealthy parasite of our institutions as the vital trunk—to proclaim normal and admirable what the fathers judged to be both exceptional and lamentable—to make bondage for the African the corner stone of freedom for the Caucasian, is, in our solemn judgment, not merely treason against the memories of our Revolutionary fathers, but it is rebellion against the edict of God. For such views of the African race lead to, and they will propagate, as they are even now propagating, denials of the Ethiop's humanity.* But God made of one blood every nation. As said our prophet, Jeremiah, of that God, in the days of Israel's deep degradation and woe: "To turn aside the right of a man before the face of the Most High; to subvert a man in his cause the Lord approveth not."† When the seer of Anathoth handed yokes to Tyrian ambassadors, as the type of Chaldean rule; when for himself, in the low, miry dungeon, he put beneath his arm-pits the cords of Ebedmelech, the Ethiopian, the prophet held, as his solace and creed, this great truth of God's justice to man: and of God's ineffaceable, unappeasable protest against the subversion, by any man, of another man's cause, whether it were as invading emperor from the Euphrates, or as a raging

* See note C.

† Lament. III., 25, 26.

mob and a proud aristocracy, in the streets of his own Jerusalem. It is grievously "to turn aside a man's right," and it is fearfully "to subvert a man in his cause," when you impeach his right to himself, and to the wife of his youth, and to their own children—when you hide from his eyes the letters of God's book lest they become incendiary—and, most of all, when you jeer at his community of interest in the first Adam, the ancestor of us all. Shut a man in "his cause," and in the question of his manhood, from the first Adam, as no kin of his : dispute his right in the blood of the first tenants of Eden, and you "subvert also his cause," and impeach also his right in the Second Adam, who, as the Lamb of God, taketh away the sin of the world. Blot his pedigree, if you can, without blotting also his passport to a better country, in that title which a Redeemer's blood sealed. That Elder Brother—was He, exclusively, and by right of Caucasian caste yours only? We know from the Evangelist that He accepted aid in bearing His cross to the pit-hole where they planted it, from a man of African home—Simon, the Cyrenian. Whether that helper's hue, as well as his home, were African, it matters not. If Ethiopia, "stretching out her hand unto God," had, in the veins of that hand, not the same human blood, of which the Incarnate Ransomer took in His humanity : then she stretches, far as salvation is concerned, that hand in vain to a barred Eden and an inaccessible, inexorable judge. Subvert the Ethiopian's, the African's, the Negro's—word the name as you will—the black man's claim to a common blood and a common humanity with yourselves ; and write with a grin, before the skies, Sambo, cousin to the ape : and

you have "turned away his right" in the Atonement, and "subverted his cause" in the Last Judgment, and his citizenship in the New Jerusalem. Easily said is the scoff, when you consider its victim's disabilities, and his accuser's advantages. It is an unequal combat. But if the taunt chance to call out a Higher arbiter—what then? And Solomon warned us centuries ago: "Whoso mocketh the poor reproacheth his Maker."* If Sambo's mocker finds himself confronted by Sambo's Maker, the inequality shifts to another side. The mortal scoffer is startled to find the puny lance of his jest hurtling upon the thick bosses of Jehovah's buckler. And Sambo's Maker will answer your taunt, be assured. Will the Sufferer on that Cross, and the Occupant of that Judgment Seat, and the King of that Paradise, calmly and mutely "approve" your exclusiveness, and endorse your relegation of His ransomed ones to brutalism and perdition? Paul, speaking by authority of his Master, told the Athenians, one of the superior castes, as they held themselves, of the proud Greek blood, that God had "made of one blood all nations of men * * on all the face of the earth."† Christianity repudiates this disparagement and subversion of the African's cause and right. He is your kinsman, for he is Christ's kin. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me:" know we not that soon we are to hear these words; and from Whom; and where?

• And now what shall Christian, conservative men of the North, do in regard to slavery in this strife? It

* Prov. xvii., 5.

† Acts xvii., 26.

was not a war of their seeking. They see their government in a struggle for its own preservation. Back of all statutes and counsellors lies, for man and for nations, the right of self defence. To all his civil powers, our nation's first magistrate has now super-added the vast military powers with which he is constitutionally clad, in defending the nation's unity and life. How far he shall put forth that reserved fund of magisterial and military power, the South are, in one sense, themselves to be the judges. Far as the South resist a constitutional, national authority, by treason and armed rebellion, the longer their struggle, and the wider the range of our trampling hosts, the larger the number, by the mere inevitable force of events, of their bondmen released from bondage. Once thus enfranchised, it would be national infamy to restore them to the lash and manacle, and slave coffle. Shall we deport them? Did Spain profit by her expulsion of the tawny Moor and the hunted Hebrew? Has France, yet febrile and convulsed, recovered from the bigot quackery which drew out of the veins of her art, trade and literature, the old Huguenot life-blood? Has modern Scotland profited by the changes which expelled Highland clans from old ancestral regions to convert these into sheep-walks? In an age when British Christians and American Christians have just been fighting the good fight of the abolition of caste in the churches, which their missions planted in India, is it policy or piety to exasperate the law of caste on these shores, and convert our dusky tillers and toilers into the coolies of a cruel, enforced expatriation?

Our government illustrates, in its present attitude toward the slaveholding States, not merely the intent

and polity of the first framers of our Constitution, who would give, to freedom only, the honor of a name in their instrument, and as respects bondage, preserved a studied, regretful, significant silence ; but that government is also carrying forward the principle of the Gospel, in its least offensive form, the principle that Freedom, where attainable, is to be preferred to Bondage. The President and both houses of Congress have virtually said again what the Apostle, rating Freedom as more desirable, said centuries since, "USE IT RATHER." They have proffered a large share out of the national treasure towards a compensated enfranchisement that should wipe out the fearful anomaly in our institutions, which, cancerous in its growth, was becoming preponderant in its influence, and if wrong to the enslaved, was certainly not harmless to the dominant race. Neither at the South, nor at the North, can it seem Christ-like, when a peaceful and compensated escape from the burdens of slavery is tendered, that men should undertake to reverse the decision of the Holy Ghost, and to apply to Bondage the other alternative in the comparison, the language which the Holy Ghost applies to Freedom. If we say, in face of Paul and of Paul's Master, of the Bondage, "USE IT RATHER," Messiah's polity is not likely to swerve at our will. "He is in one mind, and who can turn Him ?" And if with the Freedom made feasible, by God's Providence in our national changes, and commended as the more desirable by God's word, whensoever it is feasible ; we dispute the desireableness, and spurn the feasibility, it may be found that the God of Sinai, who of old commanded the love of our brother, has not fallen asleep upon His own rusted thunderbolts, and

that Paul's Glorified Master, king over all earth's potentates, is not ready to accord to any of His people the privilege of reversing His edicts, and will scarcely let His blessing be read backwards into a witch's curse. As to the plea that Slavery is now found to be the guardian principle of Liberty, in the Christianity of the nineteenth century ;—it is, as if the old Hebrew, instead of the paschal blood besprinkled on the doorposts, had expected to find the required security in rubbing into the wood the scurf of the hereditary leprosy of some hapless Gehazi. The wing of the Destroying Angel of Misrule is not likely to be banned from the gates of the Republic, merely by showing there the nail-prints where the bondman's ear had been duly fastened to the sideposts.

In our choice of the principles by which we stand, and of the part which we take in the great controversy now pending and in litigation, we act not only for the coming ages and our posterity—we are stewards before the world of the interests of representative democratic institutions. We must, in the grace and word and Providence of God, strive to neutralize each omen of ill ; and to justify and overpass each kind wish and cheering word of those, on other shores, who see in us the descendants of their blood, and the inheritors of their ancestral rights, and the vanguard, to some of them, of their own maligned, baffled, and betrayed aspirations. For the sake of those who love us, and of those who hate us, on Eastern shores, we must be prayerfully just and firm. The nations of the Old World have looked, with perhaps no special disinterestedness, on our struggle. They have presaged, in their journals, and parliaments, and state-cabinets,

that our rent was irremediable ; and that the times now moving over our land were the very times of "UPHARSIN," such as the Hand wrote for the Chaldean empire on Belshazzar's wall. With a confidence that was both prompt and peremptory, old world statesmen have exclaimed, "Upharsin—they are divided." With something of wistful envy, perchance, some of these rulers had gazed on the rich sisterhood of States, once united in golden bands of concord ; and which now they adjudged sundered forevermore. Intently scanning each new omen, and listening for the last echo of the strife, these observers stood on Eastern shores, and, like Sisera's mother gazing through the lattices, exclaimed, "Why are the chariot wheels of Anarchy and Disruption so long in coming?" And they have thought, as the goodly booty of provinces and colonial dependencies, and possible principalities, that might be secured from the wreck of the Transatlantic Republic, swept before the fancy—"To every man"—to Gaul, and to Britain, and why not to old Spain?—"to every man a damsel or two," from the disbanded States, the sisters forever disunited. But, my brethren, the stars in their courses did not, of old, fight, as they moved over the earth, for Sisera. The conqueror for whom his mother, as she hearkened, was, perchance, already preparing timbrel, anthem and garland, lay even then stark and cold beneath the tent curtains of Jael. And our vigilant watchers in the monarchies and empires of the East may find that modern auguries sometimes speed as those of Sisera's household once sped. God has not delivered us to the eagerness of their foreboding welcome. Our captivity is not yet led captive. And men, called to con-

tend for the right on the shores of our New World streams, may yet, if the God of all might shall bless them with victory, as they shall remember the strong rebellion they withstood at home, and the strong sympathies they nullified abroad, take up the strain once used beside the ancient Kishon : " O my soul, thou hast trodden down strength ! "

But if the God of battles give us to see success, where is the freedom of the nation ? Where is its refuge from standing armies ; from the Praetorian camps that breed Emperors, and that mint so rapidly an outworn Republic into a golden Despotism ? England had her Monk ; France has had her brace of Napoleons ; and what these warriors received as commonwealths, were transmuted, in their hands, into kingdoms and empires. Shall we escape the like ? And here, again, we have hope—only because our hope is in God. His past mercies are our plea, before His throne ; and our basis before our fellow men for blessed auguries as to the future. Men in Europe said of us : " With but a nominal army, garrisoning a few outposts, and that feebly, how can they war ? If mustered numerously, who shall train their republican insubordination ? " These prophets were appalled at seeing the numbers, the unity, the rapid discipline, and the energy of our recruits. The citizens of a Republic have a special stake in its welfare. Its banners and camps are wound around with the heartstrings of a nation's homes : its hosts move forth with the memories and restraining prayers, and tearful sympathies of a nation's myriads of closets and sanctuaries. The trader, merchant, lawyer, ploughman, artisan, have become our volunteer soldiery. This is the glory of our democratic in-

stitutions. It is still more the glory of our Christianity. Cromwell, to cope with England's old chivalry, called forth Christian men, with the Bible in their knapsacks, and the fear of God in their hearts, and a conscience behind their bayonets. And the same religion which made the pious tiller and artisan into the material of his invincible Ironsides, made those soldiers when disbanded to return innocently and industriously to the trades and fields they had forsaken. Does money facilitate exchange? The gold of Scripture principle, made generally current in the intellect and conscience of a nation, makes social change easy and harmless. The gospel enables the man of wealth, smitten with disaster, to become unrepiningly poor; and teaches the poor man, suddenly affluent, the uninflated and unhardened use of his wealth. His religion taught Job to exchange his affluence, his health, and his household, without a murmur, for the ash-heap of the childless lazar:—as his religion qualified David to pass gracefully from the sheep-cote and the sheep-walk, to enfranchise, to unite, and to rule the whole people of Israel. It is this gospel, which now fits the missionary, refined and aspiring, to sit down, unshrinking, amid the squalid barbarism of the lowest Heathen: and in turn incites the Heathen to aspire out of filth, child-murder, and cannibalism, to all the decencies, conscientiousness, and hopes of Christian civilization. It renders the citizen a principled warrior, true to his country because first true to his God. And it relegates that warrior, flushed with his triumph, to the peaceful scenes of a country, which, in God's name, he defended from the invader; and which, in that same name, he now defends from exactions at the

hands of its defenders, himself and his brethren. It is a Republic, and a Christian Republic, that can accomplish this. It is in other forms of government, that the soldier most naturally crystallizes into a standing army; and that War becomes the chronic malady of the nation. Its sudden power, in a Christian, republican people, and the disappearance, as sudden, of that power, when no longer needed, may be illustrated in Nature. Look at the atmosphere. How light and unburdensome does it seem. To an unpractised eye, how little does it suggest the huge avalanches of wintry snow that it can yet evolve. But send over that clear sky and translucent air the storm; and soon, the gale which now stirs gently the peach-blossom, and kisses so lovingly the cheek of the cradled infant, has become horrid with Arctic sleet, and carries in its heavy folds the death frosts that strip every forest, and sheet hundreds of leagues with an icy pall. But when Spring returns, the ice leaves the pool, the river is unlocked, and the air is again balm and music. Where is now the wintry snow? It has become Summer's crystal brook and translucent sky. It is now in the air that you breathe, and the harvests that it is nurturing to feed you, and the flowers and the fruits that gladden the eye and recruit the strength of the tiller. So, in a Christian republic, the armies that have suddenly emerged may as innocuously vanish; and leave but the blessed memory of the rights that they vindicated, and the honorable scars of the wrongs which they effectually redressed.

The great force of Christianity in a State, as seen producing these vast, practical results, is spiritual. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. Yet the sub-

jects of that kingdom are in this world, and are planted there in their relations to it to make it better. What secular power is like that of the Scriptures, in direct, palpable, practical and enduring results upon Freedom, upon Social Order, upon material well-being, and Science and Law? God's Sabbaths and Sanctuaries, the examples, sacrifices, prayers and sympathies of Christian men and women are the great sheet-anchor of the nation, preparing them for the tempest and stress of the age, in all its wildest violence. This Christian power is not a visible so much as an invisible force; it is not counted in the decennial census; not entered in the yearly tax-roll; not registered in army-lists, or voting-books, or Congressional catalogues. But yet these spiritual influences constitute a power, behind all these, and towering above all these, to the throne and bosom of God. Without the conscience which this Christianity enlightens and educates; without the hopes that it ministers; without the restraints that it imposes, where were your Constitutions, and what would be the upshot of your victories and your revolutions? Their strength is of the unseen, but is also of the Almighty and Omnipresent and Eternal; for all these it derives from the God whom it trusts, and who guards all that thus seek His favor and lean on His fatherly heart and his Omnipotent arm. "NOT BY MIGHT, NOR BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT," SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS." As with the renewal, in letters of fire, of that inscription, Pentecost sealed the Churches of Jesus, in their day of weakness, and when Paganism spread itself over the mightiest and broadest empire the world had yet known. So Pentecost sealed them for the conversion of those Gentiles, and the evangeliza-

tion of our race and globe. In that name of the Lord, let us now set up afresh our banners. The times that sweep by, march, be assured, men and brethren, to the ultimate triumph of the Right, and the slow but universal diffusion of the Truth. Find, in God's strength, thy niche, and fulfil thy task : and thy land shall yet be Emmanuel's land. The Babe of Bethlehem, and the Sufferer of Calvary—Weakness victorious under long Wrong, and emerging over all Wrong into full supremacy and manifested Omnipotence : the Saviour's earthly career is the image, compend and pledge of the career of His Church ; weak, contemned, and wronged, but enduring, overcoming, and invincible. He notches the centuries ; musters all earth's gatherings ; and flings forth the banner of His covenant, as the crown and last result of all earth's strifes. Not wont is He to undertake more than He can achieve. The Winner of Pardon, the Render of the Grave, and the Opener of Paradise ; all earth's nations and kindreds must yet be made to see that the work already done by this Christ, in the heights and in the depths—on the Cross, in the vacated Tomb, in the re-occupied Throne—above us and beneath us,—are pledges, full and sufficient, for His doing the work that remains unfinished upon our earth—and around us and within us.

The din and turmoil of national conflict shall not prevent the Christian from tracing, reverently, the inaudible footprints of this, the King of Zion. It is one and the same Ruler who governs, though upon distinct principles, the Kingdom of Providence and the Kingdom of Grace. With what a deft quietness He interweaves the influences of these two kingdoms—with

what nice adjustment He sums the more glaring and more boisterous movements of the secular, into noiseless preparations for the spiritual,—was illustrated just one century since in the history of Britain and India. In the year 1761 the British Parliament voted to Robert Clive an Irish peerage as Baron Plassey.* It was but a cheap recognition of the audacity, craft and valor by which but a few years before, in the Battle of Plassey, that merchant's clerk, having become diplomatist and general, won Bengal for the British crown and converted a corporation of shop-keepers into a board of sovereigns. For this had he done in behalf of the British East India Company. But other results are in train. In that same year 1761, which gave Clive his peerage, there was born in a poor village of Northamptonshire to the parish-clerk a son, whom they called William. The apparent lot of that infant, penury, obscurity, and comparative ignorance, what reeked Clive and his brother Nabobs of the peasant child? And how were Clive's victories, or crimes, matter of any special concernment in the parish-clerk's nursery of Paulerspury? Some thirteen years after, the bold, bad man, the East Indian general, amidst honors and huge wealth and large influence, commits suicide, turning loathingly from earth's rewards and treasures to the knife as his refuge. But he leaves behind him, yet unrecognized, another mighty fellow-worker in Indian fields. It is that peasant boy, the parish-clerk's son, who, as an ailing lad must, about the period of Clive's suicide, resign the plough and be apprenticed because of feeble health to the lap-

* See note D.

stone and the awl. But through that shoemaker's stall lies that lad's pathway to the evangelization of India. It is William Carey of whom we speak. Clive planted over Bengal England's meteor flag, the red cross of St. George ; but it was Carey's to call her teeming and swarthy myriads to the Cross of Redempiton. Born in the year of Clive's peerage, to something far higher than the peer's coronet or the general's baton—born to confer upon the Bengal that Clive won, Bengal's first Bible ; he is to give to modern Missions their yet unspent impulse ; and to lead into the waters of the Ganges, that Bengalee convert, Krishna Pal, who shall become in turn a Bengalee Evangelist. This Carey founds, with his brethren, that Mission at Serampore, which, as Heber acknowledged, was to do so much in opening the gates of the ancient languages of the East to European scholarship ; and which was also to unlock to so many Oriental tribes, in their own tongues, the fountains of Inspired Scripture.

If in the Waste-Book of worldly empire Jehovah, as the God of Battles, wrote Plassey, memorable as an opening victory in the long train of Britain's Indian conquests ; have we not the evidence that in the Ledger which keeps register of His Covenant to evangelise the earth for the kingdom of His own Christ, He wrote, in a corresponding column, Serampore ? When secular annalists and statesmen hailed the conqueror, counted his rupees and his jewels, and voted him ribbands and titles ; the Invisible Ruler laid, in a poor man's cradle, the infant who was to do a more difficult, a more enduring, and a more angelic work. Another bound the province to the British throne : it was Carey's vocation to summon the swarthy millions tenant-

ing it to the hopes, pardons and Heaven of Christ's gospel. And while the Ganges runs to the sea, and whilst the Himalayas stand, shall not the memory of Carey abide, blessed of India, and blessed of Britain? Is it not sure of a yet higher record, with those who turning many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever?

The Providence that ordered a Clive's career, and timed a Carey's birth, watches our century, and rules our land, with the like silent, serene and unfaltering steadiness. All earth's tribes, in their longings and strugglings, have been but like the blind man in the hands of the operator, when he rolls his sightless eye-balls towards his deliverer. They have been unconsciously, dimly, turning towards that Christ, who is "THE DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS." Thus of old, Pharsalia and Actium, the battles of the coming Cæsars, turned their film-clad eyes towards Bethlehem where was soon, more quietly, to come a greater than Cæsar. And even so is it now. Christ coming—Christ already come—Christ to come again: these make up the three great stages of the world's history. He, the Christ, it is who dates and journalizes all our passing strifes, and reckons up their final results. We read the Waste-Book: our children shall turn the pages of the Ledger. Disparage not the interests of this Christ in thy way and thy work: withhold not from His blessed and remunerative service thy soul and the consecration of thy life. There is need, in His ranks, for thee; there is room, in His heart, for thee. It is His prerogative and His wont to catch, amid the crash of contending nations, and of falling dynasties—with equal nicety of ear, the sighing of the lone, for-

gotten prisoner. He can, without flurry—amid the taxes and expenditures that by their huge weight stagger your statesmen—note and rate the widow's two mites, cast out of her deep penury into His treasury. While wielding, all undisturbed, Earth's most stubborn and oldest despotisms, and all Earth's fiercest democracies, for his own sovereign ends, he yet remembers, Christian mother, the prayer your child lisped or murmured at your knee this very evening. With all the reins of Power gathered into His hand, and with all people fated to serve Him; yet no burdened heart is hid from His pitying glance, no cares cast by His suffering servants upon His fraternal breast are denied His prompt sympathies. The Intercessor for your devotions, the Propitiation for your sins, the Brother born for your adversity, the Companion, Guardian and Rewarder of your toils, may He not well ask your trust; and does He not deserve the consecration of your life to His service? The yoke easy, and the burden light; may not nations, whether rent by war, or lapped in peace, heed the Psalmist's charge, to pour out their hearts before Him? And ought not, and needs not, each soul here, at all times, and at this time, to leap forth to His gracious invitation: "Give Me thine heart?" Is this blessed Master yours? Are you Christ's? If not—why not? And if not *now*, "in the very times of your land"; if not *now*, which is "His accepted time," *when* will you relinquish the long and causeless, and inexcusable rebellion of impenitence and unbelief against Him? Why not, now and here, sue for the assurance of His gracious sway—the burden of His unspeakable peace—the yoke of His blessed guardianship—and the heritage of the Paradise which He has opened to all believers?

NOTE A, p. 30. *Bp. Horsley's criticism on I Timo. i. 10.*

"The reverend prelate near me has cited the passage in which St. Paul mentions men-stealers among the greatest miscreants. 'Men-stealers,' so we read in our English Bible; but the word in the original * * is literally 'a slave-trader'; and no other word in the English language but 'slave-trader' precisely renders it. It was indeed the technical name for a slave-trader in the Attic law; and although the Athenians scrupled not to possess themselves of slaves, yet the trader in slaves among them was infamous." Speeches in Parliament of Samuel Horsley, late Ld. Bishop of St. Asaph, *Dundee*, 1813, p. 539. (Speech in House of Lords on the Slave-Trade, June 24, 1806.) Conybeare and Howson, (*Life and Epistles of St. Paul. Lond. 1852, Vol. II. p. 464*) insert "slave-dealers" in their version; appending, at the foot of the page, the note; "This is the literal translation of the word." And Alford, in his Greek Testament (Vol. III, *Lond.*, 1856, p. 290, *n.*) also gives "slave-dealers" as the rendering of the word, but adds the sweeping comment, "of this crime (man-stealing) all are guilty who, whether directly or indirectly, are engaged in, or uphold, from whatever pretence, the making or keeping of slaves." By the construction which this very accomplished critic puts upon Paul's language, in 1 Cor., vii. 21, might he not be charged with making the Apostle, one of those who "upholds," of course "indirectly," the "keeping of slaves"? If so, does not the above definition make Paul, also, a "man-stealer"?

Like the authors of our own excellent Received Version, the Reformers in Germany, France, Switzerland and Holland, seem generally, acquiescing perhaps in the precedent of the Vulgate, to have adopted the more limited sense of the Greek word, the stealing of a man; and apparently interpreted it after the definition of the Greek scholiast on Aristophanes, of the man, who, either by deceit gets a freeman into bondage, or steals those already slaves from their masters, to sell them for his own advantage elsewhere. To this sense Valpy (*New Testament, Fifth Edition, Vol. III, Lond.*, 1847, p. 124) seems to adhere. From this same rendering the "man-thieves," or "man-stealers" in Luther, some of the later German versions, as De Wette, Allioli, Kistemaker, and Gossner departed, to the use of a word, implying violence rather than fraud, in the deprivation of freedom, and which would be represented in English by "men-robbers," had we such a term in our language. And Stier & Thiele, in their German Polyglott Bible (Vol. IV, p. 839, *Bielefeld*, 1849,) when quoting these, and when adding to them the version of Van Ess, "Men-sellers" (or Slave-traders) append to Van Ess's rendering, an exclamation mark, as if to express amazement and dissent. But Van Ess does not stand alone. Heydenreich, in his excellent Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (*Hadamar* 1826, Vol. I, p. 70) has the same term. And Wiesinger, in his scholarly continuation of Olshausen (*Konigsberg*, 1850, p. 394), employs this same word (*Menschenverkäufern*).

The phrase of the Vulgate is the root of our word *plagiary*, now in English employed only in its metaphorical sense of him who steals not the man himself, but his thoughts. It was in Roman Law, the Man-stealer, and by it not only the Vulgate, but Erasmus and Grotius and Beza and Calvin render the Greek word in I. Timothy. On it, the excellent John Gerhard, the eminent theologian, in his Notes on Timothy, posthumously edited by his son, comments as being, in the use of the writers on law, inclusive of "those who carry off, keep and sell men, whether bond or free, and those also who buy as slaves those whom they know to be free" (Adnotationes ad I. Timoth. *Genee*, 1643, p. 19.) Bengel, the acute and exact, one of the devoutest and most conscientious of interpreters, (*Gnomon*, Vol. II, *Tubingen* 1850, p. 345), explains the Greek word as describing "those who by violence make freemen into slaves." And then adds as the comment: "Not far removed from this class are those, who instead of enlisting soldiers, by enticements, deceptions, and violence drag them in." Wesley, in his Notes on the New Testament, founded as he states on Bengel, of whom he had justly the warmest admiration, expands the application yet more widely, by reference to the modes of procuring a class of colonists to our own country, the Redemptioners, familiarly known during Wesley's American experiences, but now comparatively obsolete. J. D. Michaelis, in his Remarks for the Unlearned, on the New Testament, (*Götting*, 1791), also alludes in strong terms, to the German Redemptioners, as cheated by the shippers into a temporary slavery. "*Man-stealers*. (We quote Wesley.) The worst of all thieves, in comparison of whom highwaymen and house-breakers are innocent! What then are most traders in negroes, procurers of servants for America, and all who list soldiers by lies, tricks, or enticements?" Wesley, therefore, did not hold the word itself to mean slave trader, for he declares only that "men-stealing" attaches to "*most*" not to *all* such traders. Macknight held the man-stealing to refer to predatory wars made to obtain prisoners for slaves, as on the African coast.

Bretschneider in his Lexicon of the New Testament, Second Edition, *Leipsio*,

1829, in his German renderings of the Greek word, puts "man-seller" (slave-trader) first, and "man-robber" next. In the great Greek Lexicon of Pasow, as edited by Rost & Palm, (Fifth Edition, *Leipsic*, 1841), the definition given is "one reducing men to slavery; one selling men; one stealing the slaves of another to sell them again." And of the verb, from which the noun of our text is derived, it is said, that, in the Middle voice, it is found in Herodotus, Xenophon, Plato, and the later Attic writers, of frequent occurrence, in the sense of "practising man-robbery, or man-selling." The adjective, formed on our noun, and found in Plato, is defined as "man-selling."

The exact sense of the term, in the ordinary Greek of the Roman Empire, at the time of Paul's using the word, is a nice question. The current of opinion seems steadily set, in England and in Germany, from the narrower interpretation of fraud or violence in the reducing of men to bondage, or the fraudulent transfer of a slave from his legal claimant, towards the larger signification, which, as we have seen, Bishop Horsley attaches to it, and which makes it describe all slave-trading. Sacred and classical scholarship seem both tending to the same conclusion.

NOTE B, p. 34, "Use it rather." 1 Cor. vii. 21.

There is an acknowledged ellipsis in the Apostle's phrase here. In our version, that void is represented by the word "it." Was this a reference to Freedom or Servitude? Did Paul enjoin it upon the converted slave, "Cling rather to thy bondage;" or, "Grasp rather at thy freedom?" The collocation of words in our English Received Version, suggests that the "being free" is the boon to be preferred. And the Greek original seems more naturally to take that same reference. For there is great force in the remark of Neander, that, slavery being a privation, "USE" would hardly be Paul's phrase in commending it; had such been his intent, Paul might be expected to say, "ABIDE IN IT," as a state rather to be endured than enjoyed. And the Protestant Reformers, as far back as Wycliffe, with his "*more use thou*" (Pickering's Ed., 1848), or "*the rather use thou*," (Engl. Hexapla, 1841.) have run almost, we believe, without a dissenting voice, into this current of interpretation. Luther, Calvin, Beza, Brentius, Tremellius and Marlorat are in it. Tyndale's "*use it rather*" passed over, in English, unquestioned, not only into Cranmer's Bible and the Geneva English Bible, and our own King James's Version, but also into the Rhemish Version of the Roman Catholic Church. So the Hollander version provided by the Synod of Dort, the Italian version of Diodati, and the French versions of Ostervald and Martin are on the same side. The renderings under Protestant influence, have continued mainly in the same channel: the Modern Greek version of the New Testament, published by the American Bible Society (N. Y., 1835), and the Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Lond., 1836), taking strongly the same interpretation. Nor has it been confined to Protestants. Erasmus also held it; and so Cornelius a Lapide. Although Quesnel, the pious Jansenist, learned in the Fathers, names in his New Testament the other interpretation, soon to be noticed, as if it were the only one; his brother Jansenist, De Sacy, gives both the interpretations, and puts the Protestant, as we shall call it, last, as if, (we might conjecture) that, with which he himself most sympathized. And another learned Catholic, Calmet, giving both the rival interpretations, and whilst pronouncing the Patristic one, that most generally (in his church, we presume),—approved, yet calls the other "the most simple." We quote from Mansi's Latin translation of Calmet. It was the view of Grotius, of Bp. Hall, of Hammond, and of Whithy, of Doddridge and of Macknight, of Bloomfield and Valpy. G. F. Sciler, an evangelical scholar of Germany, to whom Pye Smith, in his "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah," alludes most respectfully, has, in his Commentary on the New Testament, the same explanation. Pool's English Annotations and our own Gill present both interpretations; but incline to what we would call the Protestant, as the more obvious and simple one. Wesley adopts it, although to do so, he has to desert his cherished guide Bengel: and gives as Paul's thought the phrase, "*Embrace the opportunity.*" It was substantially what Calvin had presented as Paul's principle: "*If the option be granted, Freedom is the more desirable state.*" The Father of Methodism, and the Geneveve Reformer, dissenting in much, are agreed here.

But the Greek Fathers, as far back as Chrysostom, though that Father refers to both interpretations, held an opposite sense of this passage. To them it taught the slave, even if freedom came within his reach, to content himself rather with bondage. It may be found, too, in the Syriac Version; and the learned Protestant, De Dieu, was, perhaps, from his fondness for the Syriac, led to adopt it as Paul's teaching. Earlier than Chrysostom, it seems favored by Ignatius, in his Letter to Polycarp, an Epistle of his, which the researches of Cureton have left still in unshaken authority, (Bunsen's "Ignatius," *Hamb.*, 1847, pp. 5, 26): and where Christian slaves are discouraged from expecting their ransom out of the common Church funds. Some Protestant critics of latter times have adopted Chrysostom's view, as Wol-

fius and the excellent Bengel. Some recent German Commentators, of the Rationalistic school, as De Wette, H. A. W. Meyer, and very lately Ewald, in his Pauline Epistles, are enlisted on the same side. And others, not Rationalistic, as Osiander and Harless, have joined them. Some of the recent English scholars, as Conybeare and Howson, and Alford, give in their accession; the latter with much earnestness. There had been found earlier English scholars, now, however less known, who held it before them. Dr. John Heylyn, a man of ability, the friend of the great Bp. Butler, whose consecration sermon, at his induction into his first See, that of Bristol, Heylyn preached, delivered to the King's Scholars, at Westminster School, a Paraphrase of the N. T., in the form of Lectures, which he afterwards published. Among the lads then and there his hearers, were Warren Hastings, and Cowper, the poet, and Elijah Impey, afterwards the tool of Hastings in India. He translates our text: "If you can obtain your freedom, *choose rather to continue in servitude.*" (Heylyn. Interpr. of N. T. Lond. 1761, vol. II., p. 106.) It was a sentiment seemingly better fitted to train Impeys than Cowpers. So the very acute but captious John Walker, of Dublin, proposed, in 1831, to translate the clause, "*rather lend thy service.*" (Works, Lond., 1838, vol. II., p. 110.) Walker, by the bye, shows that the Syriac Version is really against the slave's taking freedom, though Tremellius has translated it, as if for his accepting freedom. Meyer, in haste, has adopted, without noticing it, the blunder which a British scholar had pointed out nearly twenty years before. Meyer, above named, whose verbal criticism is often valuable, imputes, on this text, with some sharpness, wilfulness to all who interpret otherwise than does he. Meyer and Alford present the ablest and fullest argumentation that we have met, in favor of this return to the Patristic interpretation of the passage. But some of the later German Commentators failed to accept that view; as the elder Rosenmüller, Rückert, Olshausen, Billroth, (whose work on Corinthians, was translated in the Edinb. Bibl. Cabinet); and above all the excellent Neander, certainly not unacquainted with the Fathers, and not disinclined to give them their just influence. But Neander imputes to them here, and we think, with manifest justice, that asceticism which was covertly preparing so much of evil and of error in the early Christian Church. An English Scholar, Davidson, generally regarded as not wanting in strong regard for the German Biblical critics, takes in his *Intro.* to the N. T. (vol. II., Lond. 1849, p. 248), the position from our text, that "Paul exhorts every slave to avail himself of a legitimate opportunity to obtain his emancipation. He prefers freedom to slavery, when it could be procured without doing violence to the principles of justice, or the established relations of social life." And so a French Protestant,—abundantly familiar with German literature, in his Prize Essay, pronounced such by the French Academy of Science, an *Essay on Civil Society* in the old Roman Empire, and the influence of Christianity in its renovation, (we quote from Richard's German Transl. of it. *Leipsic*, 1857, p. 151.)—Prof. Schmidt, of Strasburg, declares Paul here to teach that when a Christian slave may be set free, he should avail himself of the advantage. So another French scholar, whose work on slavery (*Histoire de l'Esclavage, Paris*, 1847.) has received the highest honors, M. Wallon, takes (t. II., pp. 5, 6, *note*), ground distinctly: "These words '*use it rather*' have been taken as referring to slavery: they refer to Freedom. Profit by it to become serviceable, doubtless, *but not to continue a slave*: to be serviceable in that more lofty service indicated in the next verse: * * '*the servant of Christ.*'" Authorities cannot settle such a question; but these are cited to show some, whom the names of Meyer and Alford might else dazzle, that the stream of modern scholarship has by no means settled in that return to the old Greek Patristic channel which this German and this British critic favor; and that in Britain, France and Germany it is intelligently resisted by men of at least equal scholarship.

But the fullest, and to the present writer's mind, the ablest discussion of the Apostle's meaning that he has met, is that of Neander. He had in the earlier edition of his "*Planting of the Church by the Apostles*," taken the older Protestant view of Paul's meaning in the text before us. In later editions of that work he replies to, and continues unmoved by, the criticisms of De Wette and others. But in his *Expository Lectures* on the two Epistles to the Corinthians, a work that appeared posthumously, and was edited by Byschlag, at Berlin, in 1859, he returns, most comprehensively, to the topic (pp. 128-131). Byschlag founds his volume on three separate courses of Lectures which the devout and scholarly Neander had delivered in 1820, in 1843, and again in 1848-9. The results are thus the fruit of Neander's studies and ripest reflections, as continued through a tract of nigh thirty years, surrounded by all the contemporary literature of his own Germany, and not unobservant of that which appeared in France and England. The verbal arguments of Meyer and Alford seem all, in substance, anticipated and answered; and the argument from the general context, and still more from the general character of the Apostle's principles seems to us invincible, and entirely overweighing aught that has been adduced on the opposite side.

The Greek words that introduce the clause in question are indeed in the Greek idiom differently arranged; but the three simple English words: "And, yet if—" fully convey their sense. That word, "And," seems the hinge of Meyer's and Alford's difficulties. But, to us, it appears only the introduction of one of those digressions, sometimes brief, sometimes protracted,—the parentheses with which the style of Paul so notoriously abounds. He has talked of Slavery and of freedom, as comparatively of little moment, because of men's moral equality before God. "And yet if," adds he, the Providence of God present thee with political enfranchisement, despise it not; but value it, as preferable to bondage, in itself. The rapid side-movements of Paul's mind remind one of an Arab guide, mounted on his swift courser and escorting a caravan of travellers on foot. He dashes aside suddenly, and as suddenly returns; gathering up again, after one of these excursions, the regular train of thought along which he is conducting his readers; now darting up some nook, or exploring some side valley, and then resuming his post in the highway. From Bruder's Ed. of Schmid's Greek Concordance, it appears that Paul uses the same Greek words which here so perplex the German critics, also, in his 2d Epistle to the same Corinthian Church (2d Cor., iv. 16); and in that to the Philippians (Philipp., ii. 17); and that they are employed by his brother apostle, Peter (1 Peter, iii. 14), who is there introducing a digression as Paul is here.

The advocates of a change seem to us to embarrass themselves with some grave inconsistencies. Even the excellent Bengel finds, after he has made Paul recommend a Christian slave to forego the offer of liberty in this clause, that this seems somewhat irreconcilable with his view of v. 23—"bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men:" which Bengel understands to be a recommendation to a Christian freeman, not to get himself into slavery. If one who has, in a life of bondage, known its sorrows must incur the added self-denial of foregoing freedom when within reach: why forbid a freeman, who has had the blessings of freedom, to exercise himself in the self-denial of voluntarily foregoing his freedom; and so placing himself, like his Blessed Master, on the level of his slave brethren's sorrows? The Moravians once, on the West Indian Mission, proposed, when no other access to the slaves seemed left to them,—that they would sell themselves as slaves. Though Bengel would, hold v. 23, to forbid such self-disfranchisement by a freeman, we think that the heroism of that missionary proposal was not only what Paul would have permitted, but what Paul would have extolled.

So Meyer assumes that Paul thought relatively little of the difference between freedom and bondage, because of his expecting Christ so soon to come—an imputed, erroneous expectation, which, as Düsterdieck and others have shown, is expressly repudiated by Paul's explicit language; but yet an imputation in which many German interpreters largely indulge themselves, thus discolored their whole exegesis of inspired statements. Of Ewald's genius and erudition it were unjust ever to speak lightly; but when he would, adopting the Patristic view that Paul encouraged a Christian bondman to adhere to his bonds, append the remark (*Sendschreiben d. Apost. Paul. Gotting.* 1857, pp. 163, 164), that this was "good advice for young Christianity shunning thus tumultuous insurrections," but that it would be unfair to apply it to the general question of the national advantages of slavery; we regret the Rationalism which leads this illustrious scholar thus to make "young Christianity" short-sighted as to her duties, or timorous as to her utterances. The "Ancient of Days" knew the scope of His own oracles; and the horizon of His plans took in the Pyramids of Egypt and the Coliseum of Rome, as mere perishable heaps along the magnificent highway predestined for the march of His truth and His kingdom.

Paul means that, in comparison of the vast preponderance of eternal interests, as measured against "the light afflictions" and "the beggarly elements" of this present world, Christians should bring themselves upon a nearer level of sympathies, interests and prospects, amidst all their diversities of worldly position and nationality. But he did not make the earthly, on that account, all of equal degrees of worthlessness. Liberty, as measured against slavery, was not to be levelled down. Paul himself interceded for it in the behalf of Onesimus; and contended for it in his own case as against the wrongdoers of Philippi. As Neander remarks: would it have been consistent in Paul to say, to a man poor at his conversion, that if afterwards wealth, in honest ways, were tendered him, the poverty of his condition at his "vocation" to Christ required him to refuse that wealth? Still less, could he forbid the man, a slave when Christ found him, to refuse henceforth freedom. It was more than wealth.

Would not the strict views of the impassable bounds, which a man's civil state, as freeman or as bondman, when Christ called him, is thus made to set against all further change, lead, by parity of reasoning, to extend that same law of "vocation" to all the trades and ranks of society? Would not Luke, on that account, have been found faulty in quitting the work of physician? Must not Peter always fish; and Cornelius always drill? If the grace of God found Luther inside a monastery, and his Catharine a Bora within the walls of a nunnery; would not the rule thus brought in have for-

bidden the converts ever to break through the conventual precincts, and to leave the unmarried for the married life? Would it not virtually transplant the burdensome law of caste, from Egypt and Hindo-tan, where it so trammelled and crippled human nature, into the Church of Christ Jesus—the brotherly home of Christ's freedmen? And was the Patriotic age consistent in its own application of its own exposition in regard to slavery, as an impassable barrier and an ineffaceable badge? That age held that to take the Christian ministry, a man must be, or become free. Was a Christian slave, then, whilst aspiring to the ministry which Paul declares to be "desiring a good work," in reality, cherishing a forbidden and unlawful desire: for the Church said that the slave, as such, could not be minister; and the Scripture, according to that Church's traditional exposition of it, said, that he must not leave his slavery? By what right did the Ancient Church, in her enfranchisement and ordination of slaves, undertake to cancel Scripture: even though the master released his bondman, and the Church advised the master's so doing? Were not release and advice both disrespectful to Paul, if their exegesis of Paul were just? How, on their principle, is it explicable that Onesimus became a pastor?

The authority of the Greek Fathers, as says Neander, is not to be contemned. But there are hoary errors, as he remarks; and such have easily grown up in exegesis, where prejudices, whether growing out of matters of doctrine or of practice, have darkened the mind and hindered its just perceptions. The a-æsthetic tendencies of the earlier Church,—leading to morbid and false views of health, of the body, of property, and of freedom,—were early and widely working. We can see how they darkened the mind even of a Pascal, when he spoke of sickness as a Christian's normal condition. It is as unjust, as anti-Pauline, and as unchristian, to make slavery a convert's normal and unrepalable lot, merely because as a slave the gospel found him. The highest development of the Pagan civilization had been the culture of the feeling of nationality. Judaism, under the influences of Pharisaism, had but cultivated a haughty sense of Hebrew national dignity, with a growing isolation from or scorn of the Gentile races. Christianity, in the Messiah's Incarnation, Atonement, and predicted Universal Dominion, first made intelligible the true honor and worth of humanity, as such. In Paul's as in Peter's doctrine, the great precept, "HONOR ALL MEN," (1 Pet. ii., 17) gave ethics a new shape. The slave, taught his common brotherhood by the new faith, might be tempted to snatch violently at the restoration of his equal right. Paul guarded against this, by shewing the relative littleness of these temporal and terrestrial distinctions and disadvantages. But in the parenthetical commendation of Liberty as the more desirable, when it was peacefully attainable, he guards against the possible misconception, that he would stereotype Bondage, or disparage Freedom.

A French jurist, M. Troplong, the same scholar, we believe, who now occupies one of the highest places in the judiciary of the French Empire, has, in his valuable Essay on the Influence of Christianity on the Roman Civil Law, (*Louvain*, 1844) expressed strongly the sense of the power, which the new Christian truth of man's inherent dignity exercised on the Roman intellect, even before the gospel became dominant. He finds in Seneca on this subject utterances new to Paganism; and which make to him probable the old tradition that Seneca knew Paul.

That expansive but healing—that disenthraling and yet cementing energy of the Gospel, in its operation on society, affected the relation of Master and Servant, in a mode well described by Jacobi, a pupil of Neander's, and since, one of the Professors of Theology in the University of Berlin, in his Manual of Ch. History (*Berlin*, 1859, pp. 65-66). "The slaves especially felt the enfranchising spirit of the Gospel (*Ep. to Philemon*) and were, in relatively the larger proportion as to numbers, won to it. Yet Slavery was to be overcome, not suddenly and with the violation of the existing social order; but by the triumph of Christian love working from men's private relations its outward way (1 Cor. vii. 20, &c.)"

NOTE C, p. 35. *Denial of Common Origin to the Negro Race.*

A German scholar, of the highest rank as an ethnologist and linguist, now settled in England, Max Müller, in his Lectures on the Science of Language (*New York*, 1862, p. 22.) has made but recently the following remarks on this manifest tendency: "In America comparative philologists have been encouraged to prove the impossibility of a common origin of languages and races, in order to justify, by scientific arguments, the unhallowed theory of slavery. Never do I remember to have seen science more degraded than on the title-page of an American publication, in which, among the profiles of the different races of man, the profile of the ape was made to look more human than that of the negro."

NOTE D, p. 47. *Date of Clive's peerage.*

Kippis, in his *Biographia Britannica*; Aikin, in his *Biographical Dictionary*; and Cunningham, in his "Illustrious Englishmen," (Vol. V., p. 344,) give 1761 as the date of Clive's peerage. Burke, in his "Peerage," (8th Ed., 1845, p. 809,) however, gives the 15th March, 1762, as the time. The earlier year might be the date of the recommendation to Parliament; and the date given by Burke, that of the patent as made out. Gleig's Life, and Macaulay's article on Clive, leave the date uncertain; and to Malcolm's Life the writer had not access. William Carey was born on the 17th of August, 1761. "During his childhood, it was remarked that whatever he began he completed. * * At the age of twelve (1773) he obtained a copy of Dyche's Latin Vocabulary, and committed nearly the whole of it to memory. * * But his parents were indigent, and unable to afford him any assistance in the pursuit of knowledge; and a scorbutic disorder, which his constitution eventually overcame, unfitted him at the time for any labor out of doors. He was, therefore, bound apprentice, at the age of fourteen, to Charles Nichol, a shoemaker at Hackleton." J. C. Marshman. *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman & Ward; Lond.*, 1859, Vol. 1., pp. 1, 2. Clive's suicide occurred on the 22d of November, 1774. Carey's apprenticeship must have commenced in 1775.

Clive's measures in acquiring the Indian territory of Britain were, some of them, of a character for which Burke, who denounced, with such splendor and energy, similar and perhaps more venial abuses in Hastings, was compelled to make the apology, that as coming from a man of the genius and virtues of Edmund Burke, is to be regretted. "There is a sacred veil to be drawn over the beginnings of all governments. Ours, in India, had an origin like those which time has sanctified by obscurity. Time in the origin of most governments, has thrown this mysterious veil over them; prudence and discretion make it necessary to throw something of the same drapery over more recent foundations, in which otherwise the fortune, the genius, the talents and military virtue of this nation never shone more conspicuously. But whatever necessity might hide, or excuse, or palliate in the acquisition of power, a wise nation, when it has once made a revolution upon its own principles and for its own ends, rests there." (Burke's Speech in the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, 16th Feb., 1788.) Does this mean, that "a wise nation" makes revolutions, without regard to laws, human or divine, "upon its own principles, and for its own ends:" but that it stops there, and always afterwards cultivates honesty and parades justice? Robs, for the foundations; buys, in open market, for the super-structure? With the admiration of the elder William Pitt, who styled him "the heaven-born general," an epithet which, years after, the eulogists of Pitt's own son, were accustomed to apply to the latter, as a statesman, delighting to extol him as "the heaven-born minister;" with the confidence and support of his sovereign, George III., then young; and with his wondrous energy and his stores of Indian military and civil experience, it has been suggested by one of Clive's biographers, that had he lived but a little longer, he would have been sent by the British Crown as their general to suppress the rising Revolution in our own country. He would certainly have been to our fathers a much more formidable antagonist than either Howe or Cornwallis showed himself; and would not probably have made any failure so disgraceful as that of Burgoyne, who in the British Parliament, had been one of Clive's accusers and tormentors. But neither would Clive have found here Indian venality or Indian feebleness.

Had five years been added to Clive's life, it might have altered greatly the story of the American Revolution. If man may indulge in such speculations, a similar addition to the lives of Edward VI., of Gustavus Adolphus, and of Oliver Cromwell, would, supposing them to retain their positions and their mental powers, have very remarkably modified the whole history of Europe. The "time" of an individual's mortal pilgrimage may greatly affect the contemporary and subsequent "times" of his nation, not only, but of his race. It is, perhaps, not an extravagant supposition, which his biographer thus intimates, that Clive's suicide may have facilitated our Independence.



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